[Mr. M. R. Madhava Variar.]

views and principle is a portion of his earthly possessions and students are in a sense the academic descendants of the teachers. There is, therefore, nothing that is wrong or unworthy of me, if I concede the superiority of my professor's prophecy and power to read the future. It is only in the fitness of things if I lay claim to a portion of the wordly credit of an old professor in a matter of opinion which is not subject to a monopoly. Therefore, I am particularly happy to accept the kind offer made by the Director of Public Instruction on behalf of the Government. I am sure that this matter will receive the very prompt and sympathetic attention of Government. With these observations, I withdraw the motion.

Leave was granted, and the resolution was withdrawn

RESOLUTION *RE.* APPOINTMENT OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

MR. M. R. MADHAVA VARIAR: Sir, I beg to move the following resolution:

'That this Council recommends to Government that Standing Committees of non-official members of this Council be appointed to advise and help important departments of the State".

I move this resolution with a view to make the reform of the Council more effective and to realise the noble expectations of our august Sovereign contained in the memorable message to this Council at its inauguration. The last sentence in His Highness the Maha Raja's message is worthy of quotation at this juncture:

"I look up with confidence to you and the officers of my Government to work in harmony trying your best to understand each other and in a spirit of confidence and sympathy making the welfare of my beloved subjects your common concern ".

It is in humble obedience to the behest of my Sovereign and with a desire to achieve it in the shortest possible time that I venture to move this modest resolution which, I am sure, will meet with cordial response from all sides of this House. If there should be harmony between the officials and the non-officials, if a spirit of confidence and sympathy is to be engendered in us, we must understand each other and strive with a common purpose and determination for the welfare of His Highness the Maha Raja's devoted subjects whom we have the honour to represent in this Council. The success of this Council and of our endeavours entirely depends on the way how we understand each other. The object of appointing Standing Committees of the members of this House is to study the working of various departments, and to understand the intricacies and difficulties of administration so that we, the non-official members, may approach administrative questions with an amount of information and responsibility. I am led to believe that most of the non-official members of this Council find it difficult to appreciate the mentality of the official world to sympathise with the aims and policies of the Government and so we are often led to range ourselves

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against the official flank. I know that we are oftentimes blamed for lack of insight into the ways of official routine and want of grasp of administrative details. Sir, I am at one with our critics in believing that we are very often in the dark with regard to administrative affairs and we have amply evinced that fact during the short time we have had to meet here. This lack of experience and paucity of knowledge and difficulty of understanding the official way of doing things on the part of non-official members cannot but goad them to make criticisms which may seem carping and irresponsible to the members on the other side and thus widen the gulf between the two sides of this House which should never part. As we are not initiated into the working of departments and as we fail to appraise official work at its true value, we are constrained to view all the acts and words of officials with a modicum of suspicion. If such a state of things is allowed to continue for long, if a sullen silence is maintained by the officials at our irresponsible efforts, I can most emphatically assure this House that there will be no confidence or sympathy between the two sides of this august House and we will be working in opposite directions to the detriment of the State and in direct opposition to the wishes of our beloved Sovereign.

My resolution aims at removing the misunderstandings that have already arisen or may arise in future, at welding the two sides of the House into one for common action, at bringing the official and non-official members into closer co-operation. If some members of this Council are deputed to study the administrative details of a particular department, if they are allowed to pry into the working of departmental machines, if they are taken into the confidence of the official hierarchy and very often consulted on broad questions of policy, I am sure that they will be a tower of strength and pillar of support to the departments concerned, and by this process we can create a healthier atmosphere in the political fields of our country. Those non-officials who are initiated into the mysteries of official doings will become more responsible and more moderate and more circumspect in the expression of their opinions and may try their level best to remove all possible misapprehensions and misjudgments which people entertain about the various departments. Without closer union, without heartier co-operation and without more informal and friendly conversation the two sides will never understand each other and discharge effectively the onerous duties which we have pledged to perform during our tenure of councillorship. I repeat that, if the expectation of His Highness, our beloved Sovereign, that we must work in perfect harmony is to be realised in the near future, we must move in closer circles and mingle with one another freely in the discussion of administrative questions.

How can the non-official members understand the position of officials if they have no intimate knowledge of administration? How can we grant or refuse demands for expenditure, if we do not know why and how our income is expended? How can we agree with the policy of a department and of the Government if we are not given a hand in the shaping thereof? How can we press our motions and move our resolutions with confidence if we are not aware of the true position of the

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[Mr. M. R. Madhava Variar.]

Government? The object of instituting Standing Committees is to associate them with departments, to study broad questions of policy and formulate them to help the departmental heads with useful suggestions and to point out their vagaries, if any, to the Government or the Council. The one great achievement of non-official committees will be a greater and heartier co-operation between the two flanks of the Council, a better sense of responsibility and a broader political outlook, which cannot but be pleasing to our Sovereign who is always looking up to us for harmonious working. The spirit of confidence which His Highness the Maha Raja expects from us can come to us only through mutual understanding and earnest work. The officers cannot confide in us and we cannot confide in them if we do not understand each other and if we cannot sympathetically respond to each other's endeavour.

Another object of Standing Committees is to train non-officials in the art of self-government. It is well known that the object of Council reform and the broadening of the franchise is to associate representatives of the people with the work of administration and to make the Government and the people responsible to each other. This reform was conceived by our Sovereign as a constitutional experiment of great magnitude on the basis of the reforms in British India. In British India various devices are conceived to make the Government more responsible and to take the representatives of the people into the confidence of the Government, thereby to develop the self-governing instincts of our people. They have adopted three expedients for this purpose. The most important of them is the appointment of non-official members of the Council who can command a majority as ministers with portfolios. The second expedient is to associate councillors with various departments as Under-Secretaries thus enabling them to pick up administrative details. The third expedient is to appoint Standing Committees to watch, study, help and advise the various departments. All these expedients are followed in British India. In Mysore the Dewan has recently announced that in the reconstitution of the Council the appointment of Standing Committees will be a prominent feature of the reform.

Sir, by this resolution I am requesting the Government and this Council to accept a very modest and innocuous yet useful proposal, which has been readily and voluntarily accepted by the British Indian Government and legislatures and by the Darbars of Indian States.

If the underlying principle of my resolution is accepted by this Council, the only question we have to consider is the practical working of the Committees. As to the number of committees necessary and the nature and scope of the work they are to do, these are mere details which could conveniently be considered by a mixed committee of officials and non-officials of this Council. As the mover of this resolution, I am forced to express my opinion with regard to the various points which I adverted to above. I am of opinion that there should be six committees consisting of four persons each to be attached to the Finance, Revenue, Excise and Police, Public Works, Education and

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Development Departments. These committees must be given adequate and elastic powers to study the working of the various departments, to shape the policy in conjunction with departmental heads and to suggest improvements in the method of administration.

I must point out in this connection that a Committee invested with the same powers which the impotent Development Board now possesses will be a useless and expensive appendage to any department and so we are to be very careful in fixing the nature of the work which the committee has to do. At the same time, I have to impress upon the House that any scheme of Standing Committees should not be a clog to departmental administration. Standing Committees devised to help and study departments will be a source of help and influence to departments and will remove all friction and ill-feeling which may exist between the two sides of this House, and will stabilise the policy of the Government in regard to important departments.

I request this Council to accept this resolution for the better working of this Council. I request this Council to accept this resolution to promote harmony between the official and non-official elements in this House. I request this Council to accept this resolution to foster the spirit of confidence and sympathy. I once again request this House to accept this modest recommendation just to fulfil the expectations of our benevolent Sovereign who confidently looks up to us to work harmoniously, understanding each other for the welfare of His Highness' dear subjects, and to train them in the art of self-government.

MR. N. PADMANABHA PILLAI : I beg to second the motion brought forward by my friend, Mr. Madhava Variar.

MR. J. JOHN NIDIRY: I also beg to support the motion brought forward by my friend, Mr. Madhava Variar. In doing so, I have only to add a word of—

PRESIDENT: Will you please speak up?

MR J. JOHN NIDIRY:.....gratitude to Government, for what has been already done in this matter by them. Even before the motion of this resolution we had living examples of such committee appointments during this session itself. I am very glad to observe in this connection that during this administration we have had ample opportunities of having the benefits of the deliberations of such committees already appointed by Government for various purposes, and I am sure that a further advance in this line would meet with the acceptance of the Government when the recommendation reaches the proper authorities.

MR. A. GOVINDA MENON: I give my hearty support to the motion before the Council now. For the past 11 years from 1087 onwards, many members of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly have been requesting the Government to give them some practical control over the finances of the State; but only after this Council came into existence, has it become practicable for us to make our voice effectively felt in the matter. Now that the proposal before the House is to create a number of committees for the different departments of administration, I do not

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think anybody in this Council, including the Government members, will stand in the way of granting our request. Only the other day we witnessed many proposals for cutting down the expenditure, but not for utilising any portion of the money so cut down for any other purpose, because we have no power to do any constructive work as regards the budget. The appointment of a committee will minimise our work, because that committee will take into consideration all the questions discussed here in framing the budget. I say this, because I presume that it will be such as will be able to take into consideration all the needs and wants of the different parts of the State. I do not place much value on committees other than that on finance. That committee is certainly one which deserves full and sympathetic consideration at the hands of Government and I trust that all the members of this Council will unanimously vote for the creation of such a committee.

MR. S. SUBRAHMANYA KARAYALAR: I oppose this motion on the ground that, if it is carried, the House will become a committee of officers, and if this motion is carried, I do not know how to find out proper members from this Council for the several departments. Who is to judge which members are capable or competent? The committee will sit in judgment over the several heads of departments.

MR. J. JOHN NIDIRY: I never wanted this committee to sit in judgment over the heads of departments.

MR. S. SUBRAHMANYA KARAYALAR: It comes to that. They must help and advise the heads of departments. Suppose the heads of departments refuse to take their advice; I think it will then end in utter chaos and confusion. Nothing worth mentioning will be carried out. I, therefore, strongly oppose the motion.

MR P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI: I am very sorry that I have to differ from the previous speaker, and I am very glad to support Mr. Madhava Variar. The question of establishing Standing Committees is nothing novel when we consider the practice of the House of Commons or the British Indian legislature. How Mr. Karayalar thought that such committees would always be sitting in judgment over the various heads of departments with whom these committees are calculated to co-operate, I fail to understand. I am therefore submitting that, but for this misconception and but for the absence of light on the practice of forming Standing Committees and their functions in parliamentary bodies, Mr. Karayalar himself would have supported the motion of Mr. Variar. As it is, this is quite an unobjectionable resolution which aims at introducing into this Council a practice which obtains in other Parliamentary bodies. There is nothing unusual about it, and I request, therefore, that this resolution of Mr. Variar may be acceded to by Government.

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Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai rose to speak.

Mr. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: May I know the attitude of Government in this matter?

PRESIDENT: I am sorry that no official member can speak now, for Mr. Velu Pillai is already in possession of the House.

MR. T. K. VELU PILLAI: I support the resolution for three reasons.

Firstly, I consider that the appointment of Standing Committees is necessary.

Secondly, if Government accept the resolution, it will automatically pave the way for ministerial responsibility.

Thirdly, Government themselves have accepted the principle of appointing several committees unasked.

For these three reasons, I support the resolution.

MR. C. J CURIEN: Without fully realising that our Government and the British Government are based on different principles, many of my friends are discussing this question. The British Government is a democratic Government. Our Government is a monarchical Government. His Highness the Maha Raja introduces in Travancore only what he thinks good in the democratic system of government and applicable to this State without in any way affecting the principles of the constitution of our Government. If the committees suggested by the member are appointed, they will lord it over the heads of departments in administrative matters. It will be in a chaotic State. So, I oppose the proposition, till our Government is changed to democratic from monarchic.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR: Sir, I have been listening to Mr. Madhava Variar's speech with great care. What he wants is that Standing Committees should be appointed for consultation in the various departments of the State. I need not say that, under Regulation II of 1097, certain powers are conferred upon this Council, *viz.*, the power of interpellation, the power of moving resolutions, the power of discussing the budget, and the power of legislation. There are, of course, certain limitations. I take it, therefore, that the committees the mover has in view are not statutory, but advisory ones. These committees may express their views in matters of administration.

PRESIDENT: Mr. Madhava Variar says they are advisory committees.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR: I do not think that there will be any difference of opinion as to the desirability of taking non-officials into the confidence of Government. There should always be harmony between the official and non-official sides of this House, and the officials

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should, as far as possible, explain their position on every matter relating to the administration. About that there could be no doubt. But the difficulty we are confronted with is whether the Standing Committees proposed by the mover should be so constituted or not.

That the Government are always ready to appoint committees to know the views of non-official members on any particular matter requiring their opinion will, I think, be fairly conceded by the mover. But the question is whether Standing Committees as proposed by the mover should be constituted. I think that there will be very many practical difficulties in accepting the motion. My friend, Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, referred to the Standing Committees constituted by the Government of India and elsewhere. May I point out to him that nowhere in British India have these committees been tried for a sufficiently long time as yet, and we are yet to know what the result will be? But in countries where they were tried, the following is the result. I shall read the opinion of Sir William Vincent when he opposed the motion when it came before the Legislative Assembly on the 19th January, 1922:

"Now all these are not purely theoretical objections that I have evolved myself. They are practical criticisms which deserve careful attention. May I cite also to the Assembly what the experience of these committees in other countries has been? I have made inquiries as to the effect of this system in France and America. Speaking of America, Lord Bryce said:

"The scrutiny to which the departmental committees subject the department is so close and consistent as to occupy much of the time of the officials and seriously interfere with their duties. Not only are they often summoned to give evidence, they are required to furnish minute reports on matters which a member of the Congress could ascertain for himself. Nevertheless the House Committees are not certain to detect abuse or peculation, for special committees of the Senate have repeatedly unearthed dark doings which had passed unsuspected the ordeal of a House investigation."

He goes on to say:

'This system destroys the unity of the House as a legislative body; it prevents the capacity of the best members from being brought to bear on any one piece of legislation, however important; it cramps debate; it lessens the cohesion and harmony of legislation. It gives facility for the exercise of underhand and even corrupt influence. It reduces responsibility. It lowers the interest of the nation in the proceedings of the Congress. It throws power into the hands of the Chairmen of Committees. They practically become a second set of Ministers before whom the departments tremble, and who, though they can neither appoint nor dismiss a postman nor a tide-waiter, can by legislation determine the policy of the branch of administration which they oversee."

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI: May I know whether the major portion of the legislative work of the Houses of Parliament is not done by Standing Law Committees?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR: Yes; but we have yet to come to that stage.

MR. K. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: May I know on what occasion Sir William Vincent said that?

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MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR: It was on the occasion when Sir William Vincent, Home Member, Government of India, had to reply to a similar resolution which was moved in the Legislative Assembly.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: May I know whether that was carried?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR: Yes, the resolution was carried. All the same, though some committees were appointed, the practical difficulties pointed out by the Home Member have not been satisfactorily met.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: No, Sir, Dr. Gour has replied to all those difficulties.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR: With reference to that, may I submit that, if the experience gained in America is against the proposal and if the same thing is reported of committees in Europe, and if Standing Committees appointed for the first time in the Government of India have not as yet been proved to be successful, it is doubtful whether they are necessary in Travancore? The jurisdiction of the Government of India extends over a vast continent; and there it is not easy to know what the Government are doing or thinking of doing. But Travancore is a very small State. There are various ways by which the Government may ascertain the views of the public and the public can very easily know the views of Government. There are ever so many newspapers discussing public questions, so much so that, before the head of a department begins to think of doing a thing, it appears in a newspaper and everybody is well-informed.

MR. T. K. VELU PILLAI: May I ask the Law Member whether the information gets out *in spite of* the efforts made by Government or the information is given to them by Government?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR: May be either the one or the other. (*Laughter.*) But all the same, I am only stating facts, and we are not concerned with reasons. In view of the fact that, in the matter of assembly representations, Government Proceedings are passed, and in view of that picture drawn by Bryce, it will not be possible for us to launch into an experiment where even the Government of India objected to commit themselves. It is not possible for us to try experiments of very doubtful utility, and to spend considerable money over it, because, as pointed out by the Home Member of the Government of India, the proposal, if accepted, is likely to add considerably to the expenditure. I have already said that the Government are willing to take the non-officials into their confidence and they are doing so in particular cases. May I say, therefore, on behalf of the Government that it is not possible to appoint Standing Committees for all departments of the State? But in view of the fact that the Council has the power to discuss the budget, Government agree to the appointment of a Standing Finance Committee, for the following purposes, *viz.*, to examine the draft annual budget in so far as the same is within the cognizance of the Council; to examine applications for supplementary grants; and to examine any other matter

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involving fresh expenditure and which may be referred to it. For the above purposes, Government are prepared to appoint a Standing Finance Committee. and I hope that Mr. Madhava Variar will find it possible to accept the offer of Government and withdraw his motion.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Sir, on hearing Mr. Subba Aiyar, I wish to make a few observations on the resolution before the House. I was under the impression that the attitude of Government in regard to this very modest resolution of Mr. Madhava Variar would be more sympathetic. But consistent with the traditions of the Legislative—

PRESIDENT: Mr. Subba Aiyar has explained that Government accepts the principle of a Standing Finance Committee.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I wish Government's attitude were more sympathetic. True to the traditions of the Legislative Department, Mr. Subba Aiyar has attempted to re-enact, or rather to have a rehearsal of the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Assembly, when a similar resolution was discussed there. Mr. Subba Aiyar cannot certainly reconcile himself to Government accepting wholly and without demur a proposal brought forward by a non-official member, especially when his compeers elsewhere have not done so. Mr. Subba Aiyar very cleverly referred the House to the quotation from Mr. Bryce cited by Sir William Vincent when opposing a similar resolution in the Legislative Assembly. Equally cleverly, he refrained from telling the House that Dr. Gour, during the course of the very same discussion, has in reply to Sir William, fully met all those objections, and that by an overwhelming majority the resolution was carried in the Legislative Assembly. It is also significant that the Government of India have subsequently given effect to that resolution as well. My friend said that it had not yet been tried elsewhere, and that in countries where it had been tried, it was a failure. It has, however, to be noted that in such countries a really representative form of Government prevails, while in British India or here we cannot say the case is similar. If I mistake not, Mr. Subba Aiyar has not followed the course of the debate on this question in the Legislative Assembly. He said that the Government of India covered a big continent and it was therefore necessary to have such committees attached to that Government. On the other hand, Travancore being a very small province, such committees are, according to Mr. Subba Aiyar, unnecessary. He further argued that the newspapers supplied the necessary information on important matters and there was no need for Standing Committees. Regarding information conveyed by newspapers it has often been our unfortunate lot to rest content with the several inaccuracies contained therein which creep in perhaps for no fault of the editors. In the second place, we cannot certainly rely upon these newspapers for accurate information; for the Government have told us that we should not ask any question relying upon statements made in the newspapers. So then,

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the reference to the newspapers by Mr. Subba Aiyar was neither relevant nor proper. Coming to the other point, *viz.*, that India being a big continent, the Central Government required such Standing Committees, I must say that the position sought to be maintained was just the reverse. Sir William Vincent and other official members urged that such Standing Committees attached to the Government of India were unworkable and unnecessary, but that in the case of Provincial Governments such committees would work admirably well and would be of immense benefit. They drew a distinction between the committees attached to the Provincial Governments and those sought to be attached to the Central Government. In the case of the Government of India, they urged that such committees would prove to be a source of inconvenience and delay inasmuch as the members representing the various Provinces could not meet in Delhi as often as was necessary, but that in the case of the Provinces no such difficulties existed and the committees would prove to be a success. My friend, Mr. Subba Aiyar, was therefore not correct when he said that, because Travancore is a small Province, no such institution was required. He has no doubt conceded that a Finance Committee—a Standing Finance Committee—may very well be appointed. I cannot say whether the sort of committee described by Mr. Subba Aiyar was the one contemplated by Mr. Madhava Variar. Mr. Subba Aiyar agrees to the appointment of a Standing Finance Committee corresponding to the one that has been appointed in British India, *viz.*, to examine the budget, and to examine applications for supplementary grants and fresh items of expenditure. It is not such a committee that we want.

PRESIDENT: There is a third item which he mentioned and which you have omitted.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Everything relating to the budget.

PRESIDENT: No, it is any other matter of importance which the Government may refer to the committee.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Yes, and such other matters as may be referred to the committee relating to finance. This is satisfactory so far as it goes. The establishment of Standing Committees has been desired more on account of their educative value. Not only do we require information on matters intimately connected with the budget, but we should like to be afforded facilities for studying the working of other important departments of administration such as the Excise, the Public Works and the Development Departments.

The appointment of such committees will result in considerably simplifying the labour involved at present in answering a large series of interpellations. A large number of questions which we are now obliged to put to elicit information may not be asked at all if we have access to the papers relating thereto.

Perhaps the real difficulty on the part of Government in accepting the resolution may be some fancied loss in prestige which Mr. Karayalar

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and Mr. Curien were eager to maintain. But it gives me great satisfaction to find that even the official members who spoke on this resolution do not share the feelings expressed by Messrs. Curien and Karayalar. The apprehensions entertained by these latter gentlemen have caused not a little surprise to members on this side of the House. It is certainly not with a view to "lord it over" or "sit in judgment upon" departmental heads that such committees are sought to be appointed; but they will enable us to learn something of the practical art of government and to advise Government upon the policy guiding important branches of the administration, such as the Public Works, Excise, and Development Departments. It goes without saying that both the people and the Government will derive considerable advantage by associating elected non-official members of this Council in the working of such departments.

The powers of this Council are very limited and do not adequately meet the requirements sought to be remedied by Mr. Madhava Variar. The Government should have, it appears to me, no serious objection whatever to adopt this resolution. Mr. Subba Aiyar has done his part of the business in opposing the resolution on behalf of the Government. He has only reiterated what Sir William Vincent spoke in the Legislative Assembly. Perhaps he may later on concede that the resolution may be accepted and given effect to. In these circumstances, I should consider it the duty of this House to follow the same course as that adopted by the Legislative Assembly and vote for this resolution.

MR. K. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I have great pleasure in supporting the motion brought forward by Mr. Madhava Variar. The object of Standing Committees is not so much, as has been pointed out, either to supervise the work of the several departments of the State or to control the administration of the departments, as to enable the Council to get definite and adequate information with respect to each of these departments. In short, to my mind the value of these committees consists more in their educative effect than anything else. If these committees are appointed, a certain number of members will get an opportunity to come into close contact with the actual work of those departments, and thereby, instead of hampering the work of the departments themselves, be enabled to offer better informed and more useful criticism of the policy of Government. It will also minimise ill-informed and purely destructive criticism of the measures of Government in this Council.

MR. T. LAKSHMANA PILLAI: May I know what is meant by the word "advise" in the resolution? I think it is not merely the getting of information.

MR. K. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Certainly they are advisory committees; every Standing Committee is expected to be so.

PRESIDENT: "*Offer advice*"; that is the meaning.

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MR. K. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: To offer advice, they will have to study the working of these departments and come into closer touch with them. The opportunities thus afforded will be a training for the members of the Council in criticising the budget and generally offering criticism upon the administrative policy of the Government. In this view the concession that Mr. Subba Aiyar offers to make will not meet the situation, and it appears to me that Mr. Madhava Variar's proposition is a very moderate and a very reasonable one and it ought to be conceded by the Government.

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI: ഭരണകാര്യങ്ങൾക്കു സ്റ്റാൻഡിങ്ങ് കമ്മിറ്റികൾ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നുള്ള മി.സ്റ്റർ മാധവവാര്യരുടെ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ കുറെക്കാലമായി നടന്നുവരുന്ന ഭരണഗതികളേയും ഭരണനയങ്ങളേയും സൂക്ഷ്മമായി പരിശോധിക്കുന്നവക്കു സ്റ്റാൻഡിംഗ് കമ്മിറ്റികളുടെ അത്യാവശ്യം ബോധ്യപ്പെട്ടതാണു. ഈ കമ്മിറ്റികൾ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ഭരണകാര്യങ്ങളിലുള്ള ജനങ്ങളുടെ പലേ തെറ്റിദ്ധാരണകളും നീങ്ങാൻ സൌകര്യമുള്ളതാണ്. പ്രധാനമായ സംഗതികളിൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെതെറ്റിദ്ധാരണകൾ നീക്കുന്നതിനു ഗവർൺമെൻറിൽനിന്ന് ഇപ്പോൾ പ്രസ്സ് കമ്മുണിക്കുകൾ പരസ്യംചെയ്യുവരുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു സമ്മതിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. അതിനാൽ ആശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഫലം സാധിച്ചുകിട്ടുന്നില്ല. ജനങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള അവരുടെ തെറ്റിദ്ധാരണകളെ നീക്കുന്നതിനും, സംഗതികളുടെപരമാർത്ഥത്തെ ഗവർൺമെൻറിൻെറ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽ കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതിനുമായി അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥസാമാജികന്മാർ നിയമസഭയിൽ ചോദ്യങ്ങൾ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. അതിലേയ്ക്കു കിട്ടുന്ന മറുപടികളിൽ പലതും വലുതായ ഇച്ഛാഭംഗത്തെ ഉണ്ടാക്കുകയാണ് ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. ചില ചോദ്യങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള മറുപടിയിൽ പരമാർത്ഥങ്ങളെ മറച്ചുവച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായ് കാണാം. മറു ചില ചോദ്യങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള മറുപടിയിൽ സംഗതികളെ വ്യക്തമാക്കാതിരിക്കാൻ വേണ്ട ശ്രമം ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതായി കാണാം. വേറെ ചില ചോദ്യങ്ങളുടെ മറുപടിയിൽ നേരെ ഉത്തരംപറയാതെ മനഃപൂർവ്വം ഒഴിഞ്ഞുനിൽക്കുന്നതായി കാണാം. നിഷ്കളങ്കമായ ഭരണത്തിന് ഈ നയം ഒരിക്കലും ആശാസ്യമായിട്ടുള്ളതല്ല. ഭരണകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഗവർൺമെൻറ് എപ്പോഴും ജനങ്ങളോടു തുറന്ന വിടയത്തോടുകൂടി പെരുമാറുന്ന പക്ഷം ഒരിക്കലും അവരിൽ തെറ്റിദ്ധാരണകൾ ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ല. അപൂർവം ചില അവസരങ്ങളിൽ ഭരണസംഗതിയുടെ പ്രത്യേകസ്വഭാവം കൊണ്ട് അപ്പോൾ ജനങ്ങളോടു മുഴുവൻ കാര്യങ്ങളും തുറന്നുപറവാൻ സൌകര്യമില്ലാതെ വന്നേക്കാവുന്നതാണെന്നു സമ്മത

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[MR. C. P. Kochukunju Pillai.]

ക്കാം. ഈ പരമാർത്ഥത്തെ മറവു സമാധാനങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടു മറച്ചുവയ്ക്കുന്നതെ അതു കാരണത്തെത്തന്നെ വ്യക്തമായി ഉറപ്പുപറയുന്നതായാൽ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു സമാധാനമുണ്ടാകുന്നതാണ്. അങ്ങനെയല്ലാതെ രാജ്യകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ വരുന്ന എല്ലാ ഉണർദോഷങ്ങളും ക്ഷമയോടുകൂടി അനുഭവിച്ചു സഹകരിക്കേണ്ടവരായ ജനങ്ങളെ അതിൽനിന്ന് വളരെ അകറ്റി നിറുത്തുന്നത് ഈ കാലത്തിന് ഒരിക്കലും യോജിക്കുന്നതല്ല.

മിവാൻജിയായ ഒരാളുടെ ഭരണത്തിൽ പലേ തെറ്റുകളും വന്നുപോകുന്നതു മനുഷ്യസ്വഭാവത്തിനു സാധാരണമാണ്. അങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഭരണത്താൽ രാജ്യത്തിൽ അധികച്ചിലവുകളും അനാവശ്യച്ചിലവുകളും അമിതമായി വർദ്ധിച്ചുവരുന്നു എന്നു ജനങ്ങൾ പൂർണ്ണമായി വിശ്വസിച്ചുപോരുന്നു. സ്റ്റാൻഡിംഗ് കമ്മിറ്റികൾ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം ഇവയ്ക്കു വളരെ കുറവു വരുന്നതാണു. ഒരാളുടെ ഭരണത്തിൽ വന്നുകൂടുന്നതായ മറ്റാരുദോഷം ഭരണനയങ്ങൾക്ക് ഐകരൂപ്യമില്ലാതെ വരുന്നതാണ്. ഇത് ഈ രാജ്യത്തേക്കും ജനങ്ങൾക്കും പലേ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളേയും അധികച്ചിലവുകളേയും ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നതാണെന്നു സമ്മതിക്കാതെ തരമില്ല. സ്റ്റാൻഡിങ്ങ് കമ്മിറ്റികൾ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം ഇതിലേക്കും രക്ഷകിട്ടുന്നതാണ്. ഭരണകൃത്യങ്ങളിൽ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു കാലോചിതമായി കൊടുക്കേണ്ട ന്യായമായ പ്രവേശനം വേണ്ടുപോലെ കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ലെന്നു മിസ്റ്റർ മാധവവാര്യരുടെ വാദങ്ങളിൽ അദ്ദേഹം വ്യക്തമായി തെളിയിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇത് എത്രയോ വാസ്തവമായ സംഗതിയാണെന്ന് ആർക്കും സമ്മതിക്കാതെ തരമില്ല. ഈ കാരണങ്ങളാൽ മിസ്റ്റർ മാധവവാര്യരുടെ പ്രമേയത്തിന്റെ മൂലതത്വങ്ങളോടു ഞാൻ യോജിക്കുന്നു.

MR. C. P. KOCHUKUNJU PILLAI: In heartily supporting the resolution of Mr. Variar, I may add one word. It has been seen and said that Government themselves are now appointing certain temporary committees with regard to investigations in certain departments. Even in this session of the Council, several committees have been appointed, one for the revision of the rules with regard to the conduct of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly, one to consider the better working of the Government Press, another with regard to the accommodation in the colleges, another with regard to educational scholarships, and so on. If the Government would now respond to our request in appointing these Standing Committees, I submit that the trouble taken by the temporary committees or by the Government themselves in appointing these committees can be saved. There is no necessity to appoint such temporary committees hereafter. I, therefore, heartily support Mr. Variar.

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MR. K. P. RAMAN PILLAI: Sir, after listening to the discussion between "Sir William Vincent" and "Dr. Gour," I am led to infer that the principle of the resolution is practically admitted by the Government. The only difficulty is that of giving effect to the resolution in full at once. The administration has been, so far as the people were concerned, a forbidden fruit, and the representatives of the people have been brought so temptingly near it that it is only natural that they like to have a taste of it. Therefore, the aspiration on the part of non-officials is only a logical consequence of the constitution of this Council. I am sure, if the resolution were to be given effect to immediately, there might not be as many non-official members as are necessary to constitute a committee each, for the various departments of the State. I, therefore, think that my friend, Mr. Variar, will accept the suggestion of the Law Member that a Finance Committee will at present be appointed by the Government, and withdraw the motion.

MR. T. LAKSHMANA PILLAI: Sir, I am not satisfied about the significance of the word "advisory" used in this resolution. If the Standing Committee is to be an advisory body, when is its advisory function to be exercised? Is it during the Council or outside?

PRESIDENT: During the meetings of the Committee.

MR. T. LAKSHMANA PILLAI: Then I am afraid that the influence of this body on Government may not be so very good as it appears at the outside.

MR. C. P. KOCHUKUNJU PILLAI: Louder, please.

PRESIDENT: Will you kindly talk louder?

MR. T LAKSHMANA PILLAI: If it is outside the meeting, the observations made by Lord Bryce will hold good and it will be a very dangerous experiment for us to try at present.

RAO BAHADUR K. A. KRISHNA AIYANGAR: Sir, I generally agree to the principle underlying the appointment of Standing Committees of non-official members to advise the Government. The resolution commended for our acceptance does not specify the number of the committees proposed, the strength of each committee, the departmental sections of the Government to which those committees are to be attached, the occasions on which those committees are to meet and the questions to be dealt with by them. Without these materials, it must be difficult to form a judgment as to the propriety or wisdom of accepting the resolution as it stands. From the learned mover's speech we find that he contemplates six such committees. I take it that his idea is to enable as large a number of members on this side of the House as will be possible to understand correctly the attitude and policy of Government and to acquire a practical acquaintance with the details of administration and to place before Government from time to time the non-official view on important administrative problems. If these Standing Committees are to serve the purpose for which they are created, they must meet in Trivandrum very much more frequently than the Council does. The bulk of the non-official members of the Council come from the moffussil.

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[The President.]

Will they find it convenient to run up in large numbers to attend the meetings of the different committees in Trivandrum? I am afraid it will be calling on the moffussil members for a heavy sacrifice, and if the attendance is poor, the object of the resolution will be defeated and public work will suffer.

MR. T. K. VELU PILLAI: I wish to ask Mr. Krishna Aiyangar whether it would not be possible to get these committees appointed on the understanding that the committees need be consulted only when some new policy is being started.

RAO BAHADUR K. A. KRISHNA AIYANGAR: I am glad my friend appreciates the difficulties attending the acceptance of the resolution. In the present stage of our experience of Council work, I think we ought to be satisfied with a less ambitious scheme. A Standing Finance Committee is a real necessity. If the experience gained in the working of the Finance Committee will justify it, it will be time enough to ask for an extension of the principle. I will join my friend, Mr. K. P. Raman Pillai, in requesting Mr. Madhava Variar to accept the offer made by the Law Member and withdraw his resolution.

PRESIDENT: By way of explanation, I would point out one thing. Anything of importance concerning any department has got to pass through the finance mill at one stage or another. It might relate to the Public Works Department or the Revenue Department; but it has to come to the Finance Department for consideration. Every large scheme has got to come to the Finance Department; it is, in fact, the key department.

MR. M. K. KHADIR PILLAI: Sir, I fully agree with the opinions offered by my learned friends Messrs. K. P. Raman Pillai and K. A. Krishna Aiyangar and request Mr. Madhava Variar to accept the offer made by the Law Member on behalf of the Government regarding the formation of a Finance Committee and withdraw his resolution on the above assurance.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR: Sir, I have been listening to the discussion all along with great interest, but without any intention of intervening. I now feel that I have to say one or two things in view of the turn that the debate has been taking. To prevent any misunderstanding, I should like to state at the outset that, if I speak now, I speak not as an official not as a person paid by the Travancore Government but solely as a member of this Council. My desire is to submit two or three points to the consideration of this House, and particularly of Mr. Madhava Variar, who has moved this resolution, before this matter is disposed of.

MR. M. K. KHADIR PILLAI: Sir, I cannot hear.

PRESIDENT: Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Mr. Khadir Pillai says he cannot hear you. Could you speak a little louder?

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RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR: Well, Sir, I shall do so. I had just been saying that if I speak at all now, on this question, I speak less as a member of the official "block", as the gentlemen on the other side are accustomed to refer to us collectively, and more as a member of the Legislative Council, and as a man who, having for many years made Travancore his home, has a natural and abiding interest in the fate of any experiment which might be made in the constitution of this Council and which may react upon its future efficiency. In this attitude, I wish to offer for the consideration of the House, before it votes upon the resolution, and for the consideration of Mr. Madhava Variar before he presses his resolution to a vote, one or two aspects of the question, which, to my mind, have not been well brought out by the gentlemen on either side who have spoken till now. To begin with, may I say that in the course of this debate I have been reminded of the wise man who prayed to be delivered from the enemy of mankind, and metaphors and misleading analogies? Metaphors we have in abundance in our debates. But the somewhat rarer analogies have been unfortunately in evidence more to-day than usual. I cannot say that the other side alone has erred in adducing deceptive analogies. Our side has not been immune. For instance, we have had references to the analogous position that the advisory committees proposed by Mr. Madhava Variar bear to the advisory committees suggested for assisting the great heads of departments in the Government of India. And we have had suggestions of that analogy even to the committees of the American Congress. I deprecate equally such analogies whether to the committees, say the Forest Committee of the Government of India, its justification or its criticism in the Legislative Assembly of India, or to the importing of an imperfect perception of the working of the Committee System in the United States. We are absolutely not on a par, so far as the conditions of our Government and our departmental heads are concerned, with the position of the officers controlling the great departments at Delhi or in the United States. I understand the resolution of Mr. Madhava Variar to aim at the appointment of a certain number of committees, for the purpose merely of advising the heads of *departments* in our State—not the Head of the Administration in Travancore—in regard to matters of *policy* in the administration of the department—not matters of *routine*; and I understand that this proposal is justified on the ground that similar committees to advise the heads of departments in the Indian Government were justified. To me it appears that the argument will fail, if it is shown, as it can easily be shown, that the position of our heads of departments is *not* the same as that of the heads of departments in the Government of India. The function of the Government of India in administration is now two-fold: firstly, to enunciate and lay down great policies, which the Provincial Governments and administrations have to carry out, and to see that such administrations carry out the policies

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[Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.]

laid down, and secondly, to ensure that there is full harmony between the action of one provincial Government and another in carrying out such policies, *i. e.*, that there is uniformity of procedure among the local administrations and between them and the Government of India. The heads of departments in the Government of India have on them the burden of discharging this two-fold function, which, be it noted, does not involve the actual routine work of administration. Now, what is the position of the head of a department in Travancore? If I answer the question myself, I trust it will be recognised that, though I have been sitting all along with our heads of departments, I am not one myself, and I have absolutely no personal interest in the answer to the question, because it is unlikely that the acceptance of Mr. Madhava Variar's resolution would imply the appointment of a committee to assist me in the teaching of history. (*Laughter.*) I say, let us look at the facts and not magnify the position of our departmental heads merely to support the argument. Even our Deputy President, I am afraid, did not quite recognise the actual position of our departmental heads. To begin with, all of them are, despite the designation, in a comparative position of mere subordination. They do not lay down policies. They only carry them out when laid down for their guidance by the Government. What can a committee do for a department in Travancore, say for the Excise Department or for the Public Works Department? Let us take the latter. I am glad it has been made clear that these committees are not designed to interfere with the executive discretion of the heads of departments in regard to their subordinates, say in making postings, appointments, transfers and so forth. If that were attempted, it would be fatal to the working of any department. What else that the head of the department does can the committee assist him in to do better than he now does? In the Public Works Department there is an important question of what works should be undertaken and whether particular works should be undertaken or not, and as to priority of different, competing programmes of work. Does the Chief Engineer by himself determine these questions? It is known that these are all matters which are settled by the Government, and in which the Council, as a whole, presumably assists. The Chief Engineer has, I take it, nothing whatever to do in regard to selection of works for execution independently of the sanction of Government. Can the proposed committee for the Public Works Department, on the other hand, advise the Chief Engineer as to the manner in which a particular work is to be carried out? Can it enforce its opinion in such a matter against his judgment as a technical expert? Can it be said that, if it does so, it will do so with the same degree of knowledge or justification that it might bring, if it advises or decides a question of policy? Is any discretion vested in the head of a department like the Chief Engineer, that he may act contrary to the sanction accorded by Government? So far as my knowledge goes, I have

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yet to hear of a single departmental head of the State who has such a discretion vested in him as can be assisted by such a Committee as Mr. Madhava Variar contemplates in his resolution.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Sir, without interrupting Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar, may I be allowed to ask him whether, when the heads of departments in this Council give a statement of the policy of the Government, we can take it to be a declaration of policy made on behalf of the Government or only in their individual capacity?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR: My understanding is that, whenever we express views, whenever we speak of our views, we express our own views, unless we specifically say that we speak on behalf of the Government. In this particular matter, to avoid misunderstanding, I might say that I speak entirely on my own behalf and that I had absolutely no consultation with Government before I rose to speak on this question. As I said, I am only trying to assist the Council in arriving at a proper decision on this matter.

I repeat that I cannot conceive of any question of policy, which a head of a department in this State can decide of his own accord and without the sanction of Government. Consequently, if these committees are to do any work at all when they are appointed, it can be only to advise heads of departments as to whether they should carry out the orders of Government or not! Surely, there will not be any doubt in regard to what advice any reasonable committee can give in such a matter! I am afraid, Sir, that there is a certain confusion of thought in the argument adduced on the other side. It is in mixing up the desirability of committees to advise departmental heads, mainly concerned with routine, with committees designed to advise authorities in the State competent to lay down broad questions of policy. The two things are entirely different. If, for instance, the proposal is to appoint a committee for the purpose of specialising in the study of certain departments of work, and if the members of this committee are sufficiently long on it to enable them to make an adequate study of the matters concerned—as I believe certain members have in an informal way already begun to specialise in the Imperial Legislative Council and even in our Council—and if the members of such a committee have opportunities given formally or informally to approach the Dewan and to discuss the wider questions relating to the departments they have been concerned with, then I can conceive of their activities proving very valuable indeed, and of the utility of even the *formal* appointment of such a committee. I take it that the Finance Committee is one of such bodies in which the experience and the knowledge of the kind I have indicated is and will be found, and which may be able to bring a large amount of fresh experience and local knowledge to bear on the Head of the Administration, when he is about to decide large questions of general or departmental policy—not merely of allocating funds to the departments. This is one of the points

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[Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.]

which I should like to be clearly understood. The Head of the Administration can and does deal in such wider matters like the great heads of departments in the Government of India. So long as the Finance Committee exists, there is no need for any other committee to do this kind of work as regards the Head of the Administration. And there is not even a proposal to appoint the committees to advise *him*. The proposal is to appoint committees to advise the heads of departments, who surely are not in the same position as the Head of the Administration. I cannot understand, therefore, what useful purpose will be served by a certain number of persons being put on committees to co-operate with the heads of departments who are only subordinate agents in working out policies laid down for them by a higher authority. It seems to me that the appointment of such committees as Mr. Madhava Variar proposes must prove unfruitful, and could not be of any advantage at all to the State or to the Council, especially when we have a number of members of this Council itself devoting considerable time for specialised study of departmental aims and work, ready to come forward and assist this Council and the Government in laying down lines of policy for the departments.

MR. T. K. VELU PILLAI: May I know from Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar, what is the constitutional position of those committees that were appointed yesterday and the day before?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR: May I submit, Sir, that Mr. Velu Pillai has considerably assisted me, and not at all embarrassed me by his question? The position of the committees that were appointed yesterday and the day before, is just the converse of the committees which Mr. Madhava Variar has in view. The Forest Committee and similar committees that have been appointed are instances in point. They have been made the representatives of certain non-official interests. That is to say, they have been asked to help in the carrying out of specific measures and specific directions, by bringing forward their local knowledge and their local experience for the assistance of the heads of the departments concerned. The committees referred to by Mr. Velu Pillai fall into two kinds, one to advise Government generally, and another to advise the Head of the Department or the Government as the case may be, on the administration of specific rules which are placed within the purview of the committees. The committees that Mr. Madhava Variar has in mind are, I submit, neither of the one kind nor of the other.

MR. M. R. MADHAVA VARIAR: Sir, will Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar please explain?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR: I shall do so. The Council has elected members to a committee appointed the other day to consider the rules regarding the issue of free passes for the removal of timber and forest produce by private individuals. To whom

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such passes should be issued and to whom they should not be issued, and in what circumstances, are questions of local knowledge, which the head of the department does not presumably possess in a greater measure than a member of such a committee. The committee in question is not called upon to decide the question of policy involved in issuing or not issuing free passes and of the manner or of the machinery by which such issue should be administered.

PRESIDENT: I do not think that the question regarding the nature of the work that these committees are expected to do arises at all.

MR. A. HOOGEWERF: Sir, I wanted to hold my tongue on this resolution—

PRESIDENT: You have not finished your remarks, Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR: No, sir.

PRESIDENT: Mr. Hoogewerf, you may speak after Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar has finished.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR: I only wish to point out to the Council, Sir, that the position of the head of a department in Travancore is not only far inferior to that of the head of a department with the Government of India, but it is even inferior to that of the head of a District in British India so far as independent action is concerned. I am of opinion, therefore, that committees like those mentioned in the resolution will not be of any material assistance whatsoever for our departments.

I should like to say that, if the object of the mover is to obtain opportunities to bring officials and non-officials more together, to educate the latter in the work of departmental administration, and to make the former get into greater touch with the men and things in local areas, the wish would be a most laudable one. If that be all the aim of this resolution, the form in which it is put is not the right one. In that case all that would be necessary will be secured by officials, particularly departmental heads, not sitting *gosha*, and by non-officials and officials being thrown frequently together. This is what is being done every day now. In these days of popular government, it is impossible for officials—for heads of departments particularly,—to ignore the necessity for convincing the electorate,—for convincing the members of the Council. Under these circumstances, it should be clear to the Council that no real necessity has been made out for the appointment of the committees urged by Mr. Madhava Variar, for a kind of circuitous contrivance to bring officials and non-officials into intimate contact. It is surely to the interest of the heads of departments to meet leading non-officials and ascertain their opinions and I am sure they now do so. Then where is the necessity for this resolution for the appointment of a number of committees, to do the work which is being done? I hope in the light of my submission it will be possible for Mr. Madhava Variar to accept the compromise offered by Mr. Subba Aiyar and withdraw his resolution.

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[Mr. M. R. Madhava Variar.]

MR. A. HOOGEWERF: Sir, half the trouble in this world is due to misunderstanding, and half the trouble in Travancore between the people and the Government is due to the people not understanding the difficulties of the Government on the one hand, and the want of sympathy on the part of the Government on the other. The Government circle is now too much of a *sanctum sanctorum*. The advisory committee will be a connecting link between the Government and the people. There is, at present, no fixed principle or continuity of policy in anything. One head of a department effects a reform which is upset by another as soon as he comes in, and so the thing goes on in a vicious circle. There are three Revenue Divisions and three Police Divisions; but there are twelve Excise Divisions. On what principle is this? Police and Excise Commissioners may come and go, but the advisory Committee will stay on, and will be in a position to advise the Government and the officers in so many ways. If the members are selected by this Council, they will have to answer to us if anything goes wrong. Much wasteful expenditure of money could have been saved, if there had been less of the one man administration. I, therefore, strongly support this motion.

MR. JOSEPH PANJIKARAN: I came to this House to wholeheartedly support the resolution of Mr. Madhava Variar; but on hearing the valuable arguments of my friend, Mr. Krishna Aiyangar, I cannot but accept the compromise offered by Mr. Subba Aiyar.

MR. K. P. RAMAN PILLAI: Hear, hear.

MR. JOSEPH PANJIKARAN: This Council is in the most preliminary state of its existence; and all on a sudden for us to try to have such effective control, check and interference of the executive may not be quite proper, and, as such, I would request my friend, Mr. Madhava Variar, in all earnestness to accept the compromise offered by the Law Member. We are now in a position to urge upon the Government our reasons for extending our powers or for appointing other committees I would therefore request Mr. Madhava Variar to withdraw his resolution and accept this compromise.

MR. M. R. MADHAVA VARIAR: Sir, I never thought that my modest resolution would appear to be a bomb-shell to some of my friends here. It was said that there would be chaos and this monarchical Government would be converted into a democratic one. But in Mysore, Government themselves have announced that they are going to appoint Standing Committees.

PRESIDENT: There they speak of "one or more Standing Committees". That is the expression used by Mr. Banerji.

MR. M. R. MADHAVA VARIAR: The Indian legislature also approved of the idea of Standing Committees. So I do not think that, if Standing Committees are appointed, the monarchical form will be changed or chaos and anarchy will come in here.

Another objection was that I had not explained how, if Standing Committees are to be appointed, what should be the powers of the Standing

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Committees. These things I cannot explain now. I said that a Committee, consisting of officials and non-officials, might determine the details of these committees. I am not convinced that Standing Committies are not at all necessary, but as most of the members of this House desired that we should be satisfied with a Finance Committee, I do not wish to press my motion.

PRESIDENT: Do you withdraw this resolution?

MR. M. R MADHAVA VARIAR: Yes, Sir.

The resolution was withdrawn with the permission of the House.

RESOLUTION *RE.* PROHIBITION OF THE MANUFACTURE AND IMPORTATION OF LIQUOR.

PRESIDENT: The next resolution also stands in the name of Mr. Madhava Variar and it runs as follows:

"That this Council recommends to the Government that the manufacture and importation of liquor be completely prohibited except for medicinal and industrial purposes".

I call upon Mr. Madhava Variar to move his resolution.

MR. M. R. MADHAVA VARIAR: Sir, I beg to move that this Council recommends to the Government that the manufacture and importation of liquor should be completely prohibited except for medicinal and industrial purposes. I am constrained to move this resolution because the drink habit is ruining the labour classes of our country, destroying the soul of our people, breaking up homes and breeding brutality and crime to an unprecedented degree, and because, if this curse of humanity is not immediately removed, our beautiful State of Travancore will fall an easy prey to this terrible monster. I am sure that there will not be two opinions in the country and in this House about the resolution which I have the honour to move, and I confidently believe that every one in this House will agree with me in saying that this evil should be absolutely and immediately prohibited. I ask this House to recommend to Government the complete prohibition of manufacture and importation of liquor because, though the Government heartily support us in our temperance activities, they are unprepared to stop it in the near future. The Dewan in his reply to Mr. Karayalar's representation in the 18th Session of the Popular Assembly said:

"In regard to the abkari policy of the Government, or the drink policy as you call it the Government are at one with you in the view that drink should be gradually abolished and that the revenue from abkari should disappear eventually.

Whether all abkari taxation should be abolished at one stroke or whether it should be effected gradually is the question. It is a very important question and is one which has not been solved in other places. The question is one which teems with difficulties. If you abolish abkari taxation, it does not follow that you abolish drinking. Illicit drinking is bound to come into existence if that is done. However, Government are entirely in agreement with you in thinking that abkari revenue should not be a source of profit and in course of time that revenue should disappear and I have no doubt in regard to it whatever. The staying power of the people and the resources of the Government are bound to increase with the abolition of the drink evil, but any sudden or drastic measures cannot but be disastrous.

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